

P 120610Z FEB 87
FM AMEMBASSY COLOMBO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1264
INFO AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMCONSUL MADRAS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 05 COLOMBO 01041

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: [PINS](#) [PINR](#) [CE](#)

SUBJECT: INSIDE THE LTTE: A LOOK AT THE TIGERS'
COMMAND STRUCTURE AND REGIONAL LEADERS

REF: 86 COLOMBO 6174

11. CONFIDENTIAL--ENTIRE TEXT.

12. SUMMARY: PRABHAKARAN HAS DIVIDED HIS LIBERATION TIGERS OF TAMIL EELAM INTO FIVE POLITICO-MILITARY REGIONS, EACH COMMANDED BY A REGIONAL LEADER RESPONSIBLE TO PRABHAKARAN. IN TURN THESE REGIONAL COMMANDERS HAVE SUBORDINATE AREA COMMANDERS UNDER THEIR CONTROL. THE LTTE STRUCTURE IS A TIGHT PYRAMID, WITH POWER CONCENTRATED AT THE APEX--PRABHAKARAN. HIS LIEUTENANT IN JAFFNA IS KITTU, WHO SPORTS A LEOPARD-SKIN HOLSTER, KEEPS A PET MONKEY, AND IS GENERALLY KNOWN AS PRABHAKARAN'S "ENFORCER." THE TOP MAN IN MANNAR IS RADHA, THE REPUTED LEADER OF THE LTTE RAID ON ANURADHAPURA IN 1985 THAT LEFT 150 SINHALESE CIVILIANS DEAD. IN BATTICALOA THE LTTE LEADER IS KUMARAN, A WILY GUERRILLA WHO HAS NARROWLY ESCAPED CAPTURE OR DEATH TWICE IN THE LAST 6 MONTHS. GIVEN WHAT WE KNOW OF THE LTTE'S STRUCTURE AND OPERATIONS, IF AN LTTE-CONTROLLED TAMIL EELAM WERE TO BE ESTABLISHED, IT WOULD BE DOMINATED BY PRABHAKARAN, WOULD BE HIGHLY CENTRALIZED AND AUTHORITARIAN (ALTHOUGH NOT VERY IDEOLOGICAL), AND BE PLAGUED BY CLEAVAGES BASED ON REGION, CASTE, AND RELIGION. END SUMMARY.

13. INTRODUCTION: THE LIBERATION TIGERS OF TAMIL EELAM (LTTE) ARE NOW INDISPUTABLY THE PREDOMINANT TAMIL SEPARATIST ORGANIZATION, HAVING COWED RIVAL MILITANT GROUPS, SUPPLANTED THE MODERATE TULF AS THE LEADING POLITICAL LIGHT OF THE TAMIL CAUSE, SLIPPED THE BONDS OF INDIAN TUTELAGE, AND ESTABLISHED A FUNCTIONING (IF LIMITED) CIVIL ADMINISTRATION IN TERRITORY UNDER THEIR CONTROL. EMBASSY COLOMBO IN PAST WEEKS HAS FOCUSED ON THE LTTE POLITICO-MILITARY STRUCTURE IN SRI LANKA AND ON THE LOCAL LTTE LEADERS WHO OPERATE UNDER PRABHAKARAN'S DIRECTION IN THE NORTH AND EAST. REFTTEL CONTAINS BIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION ON THE LTTE LEADER, VELUPILLAI PRABHAKARN, WHO RECENTLY RETURNED TO JAFFNA AFTER 3 YEARS OF EXILE IN TAMIL NADU. THE FOLLOWING SECTIONS DESCRIBE THE LTTE COMMAND STRUCTURE AND GIVE PROFILES OF SOME OF THE LTTE REGIONAL AND SUB-REGIONAL COMMANDERS. THIS MESSAGE SEEKS TO PROVIDE A GLIMPSE INSIDE THE LTTE AND INFORMATION ON CHARACTERISTIC LOCAL COMMANDERS. EMBASSY HAS INFORMATION ON THREE OF THE FIVE REGIONAL COMMANDERS AND WILL INFORM ADDRESSEES IF SUBSEQUENT DATA ON TRINCOMALEE AND VAVUNIYA LTTE LEADERS COMES TO LIGHT. INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS FROM OPEN, PUBLISHED SOURCES, AS WELL AS FROM THE SRI LANKAN POLICE, MILITARY, FOREIGN AND SRI LANKAN JOURNALISTS WHO HAVE TRAVELED IN THE NORTH AND EAST, AND LOCAL PRIVATE CONTACTS.

ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE

14. LUCKY FIVE; A REGIONAL COMMAND STRUCTURE:
THE LTTE HAS DIVIDED THE NORTH AND EAST INTO FIVE REGIONAL COMMAND STRUCTURES, EACH WITH AN OVERALL REGIONAL COMMANDER WHO REPORTS DIRECTLY TO PRABHAKARAN. EACH OF THE FIVE REGIONS IS FURTHER SUBDIVIDED INTO SMALLER AREAS, WITH A DESIGNATED LOCAL LEADER WHO REPORTS TO THE REGIONAL COMMANDER. THE FIVE REGIONS

ARE JAFFNA, MANNAR, VAVUNIYA (COMPRISED OF VAVUNIYA, KILINOCHCHI, AND MULLAITTIVU DISTRICTS), TRINCOMALEE, AND BATTICALOA (BATTICALOA AND AMPARAI DISTRICTS). THE NUMBER FIVE IS CONSIDERED TO BE VERY LUCKY IN TAMIL HINDU MYTHOLOGY, AND ONE MILITARY CONTACT SAYS PRABHAKARAN SET UP FIVE REGIONAL COMMANDS FOR THIS REASON. THE FIVE REGIONAL COMMANDERS SIT ON THE LTTE'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE, ALONG WITH PRAKHAKARAN AND A FEW SELECT OTHERS. THE REGIONAL COMMANDERS ARE CONCURRENTLY MILITARY AND POLITICAL LEADERS; THERE IS NO DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN THE LTTE'S POLITICAL AND MILITARY HIERARCHY.

15. HIGHLY CENTRALIZED: THE LTTE OPERATIONAL COMMAND STRUCTURE IS HIGHLY CENTRALIZED AND IS DOMINATED BY PRABHAKARAN. JAFFNA PLAYS THE KEY ROLE OVERALL, BOTH BECAUSE OF THE LTTE CONTROL AND FREEDOM OF OPERATION THERE, AS WELL AS THE FACT THAT JAFFNA TAMILS DOMINATE THE LTTE'S RANKS. THE TIGERS RUN A SOPHISTICATED RADIO COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK BETWEEN THE REGIONAL COMMANDS AND JAFFNA, A SYSTEM WHICH MANY CLAIM IS A PRIMARY REASON FOR THE LTTE'S CENTRALIZED COORDINATION, DISCIPLINE, AND EFFECTIVENESS. THE REGIONAL COMMANDERS ESTABLISH AND MAINTAIN THEIR AUTHORITY BY MEANS OF STRICT CONTROL OF ALL MUNITIONS AND SUPPLIES DISTRIBUTED THROUGH THE LTTE STRUCTURE. SUB-REGIONAL COMMANDERS HAVE GUNS, AMMO, AND OTHER SUPPLIES DOLED OUT TO THEM BY THE REGIONAL COMMANDERS. ONE POLICE CONTACT CLAIMED THAT THE SUBSTANTIAL RANSOM COLLECTIONS MADE BY THE LTTE ARE ALL IMMEDIATELY SENT BACK TO JAFFNA, FOR LATER DISTRIBUTION FOR THE WHOLE ORGANIZATION AS PRABHAKARAN SEES FIT. ACCORDING TO A PRESS REPORT, "EVERYONE IS REQUIRED TO TAKE AN OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO PRABHAKARAN. THE REGIONAL LEADERS ARE HANDPICKED BY PRABHAKARAN HIMSELF ON THE BASIS OF TRUST, LOYALTY, AND EXPERIENCE."

JAFFNA

16. KITTU; MACHO ANIMAL LOVER:
THE JAFFNA REGION COMMANDER AND REPUTEDLY THE SECOND MOST POWERFUL MAN IN THE LTTE IS KITTU (WHOSE REAL NAME IS SATHASIVAM KRISHNAKUMAR). KITTU, 27, IS SAID TO BE A CLOSE RELATIVE OF PRABHAKARAN AND IS FROM THE SAME FISHERMAN CASTE (KARAYAR) AND HOMETOWN (VALVEDDITURRAI). HE IS REPORTED TO SPEAK ONLY TAMIL--ALTHOUGH HE MAY UNDERSTAND SOME ENGLISH--AND TO HAVE COMPLETED THE "ORDINARY LEVEL" EXAMS (10 YEARS OF EDUCATION). PICTURES HAVE APPEARED IN THE COLOMBO PRESS OF KITTU HOLDING HIS PET MONKEY, "BILL," AND ONE FOREIGN JOURNALIST WHO INTERVIEWED HIM SAID HE WAS CONSTANTLY SURROUNDED BY A PACK OF FRIENDLY DOGS. HE IS A NOTORIOUSLY BAD DRIVER; THE JOURNALIST CITED ABOVE CLAIMED KITTU TOOK HIM FOR A HAIR-RAISING RIDE AROUND JAFFNA. GSL REPORTS IN SEPTEMBER 1986 THAT KITTU HAD BEEN BADLY WOUNDED BY MORTAR FIRE WERE BASED ON THE FACT THAT, ACCORDING TO TAMIL SOURCES, KITTU HAD SMASHED UP HIS LEG RATHER SERIOUSLY IN AN AUTO WRECK. RECENT REPORTS FROM JAFFNA OF KITTU ZIPPING AROUND ON A SCOOTER INSTEAD OF HIS CAR HAVE BEEN ATTRIBUTED TO (1) A DEMOTION WITHIN THE LTTE HIERARCHY, OR (2) EFFECTS OF THE GSL FUEL EMBARGO IN JAFFNA. IT MAY BE THE CASE, HOWEVER, THAT KITTU SIMPLY HAS SMASHED UP HIS CAR ONCE AGAIN.

17. KITTU, DESCRIBED BY ONE JOURNALIST AS LOOKING LIKE "AN ECCENTRIC BUT RICH UNDERGRADUATE," ALSO HAS A DARKER, TYRANNICAL SIDE. ONE CONTACT SAID HE HAD A "MACHO SWAGGER" AND CARRIES A .45 IN A LEOPARD-SKIN HOLSTER (ANOTHER REPORT IDENTIFIES HIS SIDE-ARM AS A .357 MAGNUM). THE JOURNALIST CITED IN PARA 6 SAID THAT WHILE ON A TOUR OF THE JAFFNA AREA, KITTU WOULD STOP THE CAR, PULL OUT HIS PISTOL, AND BLAST AWAY AT CROWS ("HE NEVER HIT ANYTHING," THE JOURNALIST ADDED). HE ALSO REPORTEDLY WEARS A POTASSIUM CYANIDE CAPSULE AROUND HIS NECK IN ORDER TO COMMIT SUICIDE IF

CAPTURED, A PRACTICE COMMON WITH LTTE CADRE. ACCORDING TO A VARIETY OF SOURCES, KITTU IS RUTHLESS WHEN DEALING WITH TAMILS SUSPECTED OF COOPERATING WITH THE GSL; ONE INTERVIEWER STATED, "THE HEADMASTER OF A WELL-ESTABLISHED JAFFNA SCHOOL WAS KILLED ON KITTU'S ORDERS FOR THE CRIME OF PLAYING FOOTBALL WITH THE ARMY." (WE ASSUME THIS TO REFER TO EDWIN ANANDRAJAM, THE PRINCIPAL OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, WHO WAS SHOT AND KILLED JUNE 26, 1985. HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW TOLD POLCOUNS THAT THE LTTE HAD EXECUTED HIM FOR HAVING ALLOWED HIS SCHOOL TO PLAY AGAINST AN ARMY TEAM.) A GSL SOURCE, IN COMMENTING ON KITTU'S TEMPER AND VIOLENT NATURE, SAID THAT A RECENT MEETING TOOK PLACE AT KITTU'S HOUSE WITH A DOZEN OR SO LTTE CADRE. MANY OF THE CADRE HAD PARKED THEIR BICYCLES OUTSIDE HIS HOUSE, AND WHEN A GSL HELICOPTER FLEW OVER THE AREA KITTU ORDERED THE MEN TO MOVE THEIR BICYCLES FOR SECURITY REASONS. WHEN HIS ORDERS WERE NOT IMMEDIATELY CARRIED OUT, KITTU GOT AN AX, WENT OUTSIDE, AND DEMOLISHED THE BICYCLES.

18. KITTU'S POLITICAL LEANINGS ARE NOT WELL KNOWN; IT MAY BE THAT BEYOND MILITANT TAMIL NATIONALISM HIS IDEOLOGICAL COMMITMENTS ARE THIN. IN AN AUGUST 1986 INTERVIEW WITH JON SWAIN OF THE "SUNDAY TIMES" KITTU IS QUOTED AS SAYING, "THE TIGERS ARE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISTS WHOSE ULTIMATE AIM IS THE CREATION OF A ONE-PARTY SOCIALIST STATE."

19. THE COLOMBO PRESS IN PAST MONTHS HAS PLAYED UP THE ALLEGED FALLING OUT BETWEEN KITTU AND PRABHAKARAN. NEWSPAPER ARTICLES REPORTED THAT KITTU HAD VANISHED AND MAY HAVE BEEN KILLED IN LTTE IN-FIGHTING, CHAFFED AT HAVING PRABHAKARAN RETURN TO JAFFNA AFTER KITTU HAD BEEN TOP DOG THERE FOR 3 YEARS, AND THAT KITTU WAS TO MARRY A TAMIL DOCTOR AND WAS NOW MORE INTERESTED IN MAKING LOVE THAN WAR. MANY OBSERVERS FEEL THAT THE KITTU-PRABHAKARAN RIFT WAS EITHER INVENTED BY THE GSL, OR MAGNIFIED IN ORDER TO FOSTER THE PERCEPTION THAT THE TIGERS WERE GOING TO BE TORN ASUNDER.

10. RAHIM; TRILINGUAL ARISTOCRAT:
KITTU'S PURPORTED NUMBER TWO, INTERPRETER, AND JAFFNA REGION LTTE SPOKESMAN IS REPORTEDLY 22 YEARS OLD, ALTHOUGH HIS AGE IS OFTEN GIVEN AS 19 BY FOREIGN MEDIA. HIS REAL NAME IS BALASUBRAMANIAM CANAGARATNAM. WHEN THE JULY 1983 COMMUNAL RIOTS BROKE OUT, RAHIM WAS A SECONDARY STUDENT AT TRINITY COLLEGE IN KANDY. HIS FATHER WAS A SENIOR PLANTER ON A STATE TEA PLANTATION AND EVIDENTLY BORE THE BRUNT OF SINHALESE IRE IN THE AREA. RAHIM IMMEDIATELY QUIT SCHOOL AND MOVED TO JAFFNA WITH HIS FAMILY AND SHORTLY THEREAFTER JOINED THE LTTE. RAHIM HAS TWO UNCLES WHO ARE WELL-KNOWN SURGEONS, HIS GRANDFATHER WAS SRI LANKA'S AUDITOR-GENERAL, AND THE FAMILY IN GENERAL WAS PART OF THE "ASSIMILATED" TAMIL ESTABLISHMENT. RAHIM, A MEMBER OF A HIGH JAFFNA TAMIL CASTE, SPEAKS ENGLISH, TAMIL, AND SINHALA FLUENTLY. HE BECAME SOMEWHAT OF AN ISLAND-WIDE PERSONALITY DURING RECENT VISITS TO JAFFNA OF A SINHALESE POLITICIAN WHO MADE A VIDEO TAPE OF HIS TRIP WHICH WAS DISTRIBUTED THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. IN THIS VIDEO TAPE RAHIM APPEARS AS THE HANDSOME, SLENDER, ARTICULATE LTTE SPOKESMAN, IN CONTRAST TO THE PUDGY, BALDING, BESPECTACLED, AND MONOLINGUAL KITTU. RAHIM'S COMBAT EXPERIENCE AND CAPABILITIES ARE LARGELY UNKNOWN.

BATTICALOA

11. KUMARAN: SIXTH SENSE:
THE LTTE COMMANDER IN CHARGE OF THE BATTICALOA AND AMPARAI DISTRICTS GOES BY THE NOM DE GUERRE KUMARAN (OR AT TIMES IS REFERRED TO AS KUMARAPPAN). WE DO NOT KNOW HIS REAL NAME. HE IS SAID TO BE A SUPERB TACTICIAN AND LOGISTICIAN, RUNNING A CLASSIC GUERRILLA OPERATION FAR FROM HIS SOURCE OF SUPPLIES AND REINFORCEMENTS. KUMARAN, A HIGH SCHOOL DROPOUT, WAS RAISED IN BATTICALOA. HIS MOTHER WAS A BATTICALOA

TAMIL, WHILE HIS FATHER WAS FROM JAFFNA, THUS MAKING HIM ACCEPTABLE TO THE BATTICALOA CADRES AS WELL AS THE JAFFNA-DOMINATED CENTRAL STRUCTURE. ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS HE HAS BARELY AVOIDED CAPTURE OR DEATH. ONE SENIOR GSL SECURITY OFFICER TOLD POLOFF OF AN AMBUSH SET SPECIFICALLY TO KILL KUMARAN. THE AUTHORITIES LEARNED THAT KUMARAN WAS PERSONALLY TO COME COLLECT A KIDNAPPING RANSOM FROM A TAMIL FAMILY OUTSIDE OF BATTICALOA. THE FAMILY COOPERATED WITH THE GSL, WHO SET UP AN AMBUSH SITE ON THE ROAD TO THE FAMILY'S HOUSE. KUMARAN AND ANOTHER MAN CAME DOWN THE ROAD ON A MOTORCYCLE TOWARD THE AMBUSH, WHEN FOR NO APPARENT REASON KUMARAN STOPPED THE MOTORCYCLE, GOT OFF, LOOKED DOWN THE ROAD, AND THEN TURNED AROUND AND WENT BACK THE WAY HE HAD COME. THE SECURITY OFFICER SAID, "I DON'T KNOW HOW HE COULD HAVE POSSIBLY SPOTTED THE AMBUSH-- HE MUST HAVE SOME SIXTH SENSE." HE ALSO NARROWLY ESCAPED THE STF DURING A LATE JANUARY RAID ON AN LTTE BASE CAMP IN BATTICALOA. THE TROOPS REPORTEDLY MANAGED TO CAPTURE HIS COMMAND VEHICLE IN THE RAID--A 4-WHEEL DRIVE CAMOUFLAGED PICKUP WITH THE WORD "BEIRUT" STENCILED ACROSS THE HOOD.

¶12. DAVID; POLICE BARBER'S SON:
KUMARAN'S SUBORDINATE IN CHARGE OF SOUTHERN BATTICALOA DISTRICT AND NORTHERN AMPARAI DISTRICT IS DAVID (REAL NAME NOT KNOWN TO US), THE SON OF A BARBER FROM POTUVIL IN AMPARAI DISTRICT WHO REGULARLY SERVED AS THE POLICE BARBER IN THE AREA. THE COMMANDANT OF THE STF TOLD POLOFF IN AUGUST 1986 THAT DAVID HAD A BAND OF 12 TO 15 MEN WHO OPERATED IN SOME OF THE LEAST ACCESSIBLE JUNGLES ON THE ISLAND. THE COMMANDANT STATED THAT THE TROOPS HAVE FREQUENTLY ZEROED IN ON DAVID'S RADIO COMMUNICATIONS BUT HAVE NEVER MANAGED TO RESPOND QUICKLY ENOUGH TO NAB THE GUERRILLA BAND. THE REPORTED MASSACRE OF SOME 40 SINHALESE CIVILIANS IN FEBRUARY 1987 OCCURRED IN THE AREA OF DAVID'S COMMAND, BUT IT IS NOT KNOWN WHETHER HE LED OR DIRECTED THE KILLINGS.

MANNAR

¶13. RADHA; BUTCHER OF ANURADHAPURA:
THE MANNAR REGIONAL COMMANDER, RADHA (REAL NAME, ANTHONY KATHTHIAR), IS A HIGH-CASTE HINDU FROM ARIALAI IN THE JAFFNA PENINSULA. APPROXIMATELY 24 YEARS OLD, HE ASSUMED THE MANNAR COMMAND IN OCTOBER 1986 FOLLOWING THE DEATH OF VICTOR, THE POPULAR MANNAR COMMANDER. VICTOR, A CATHOLIC FROM MANNAR (CATHOLICS CONSTITUTE 42 PERCENT OF MANNAR DISTRICT'S POPULATION, HINDUS 25 PERCENT AND THE REMAINDER ARE MUSLIM) HAD A STRONG PERSONAL FOLLOWING AMONG THE LTTE FIGHTERS IN MANNAR. WHEN PRABHAKARAN CHOSE A JAFFNA HINDU TO REPLACE HIM, A NUMBER OF LTTE MEMBERS TRIED TO RESIGN. PRABHAKARAN ALLEGEDLY DISPATCHED KITTU TO REMIND THE DISAFFECTED MANNAR "BOYS" THAT NOBODY RESIGNS FROM THE LTTE. ACCORDING TO A MILITARY SOURCE, THE LTTE HAS UNDERTAKEN NO OFFENSIVE OPERATIONS EXCEPT FOR THREE LAND-MINE EXPLOSIONS IN MANNAR DISTRICT SINCE RADHA REPLACED VICTOR IN OCTOBER OF LAST YEAR. THE OFFICER ADDED THAT IT WAS RADHA, THEN WORKING UNDER VICTOR'S COMMAND, WHO ORGANIZED AND EXECUTED THE ATTACK IN MAY 1985 ON THE HOLY BUDDHIST TOWN OF ANURADHAPURA IN WHICH OVER 150 CIVILIANS WERE KILLED. RADHA REPORTEDLY SPENDS A GOOD DEAL OF TIME IN VALVEDDITTURAI ON THE JAFFNA PENINSULA. BEFORE ASSUMING THE MANNAR COMMAND HE WAS IN SOUTH INDIA FOR AN EXTENDED PERIOD, IN CHARGE OF TRAINING THE "FOURTH BATCH" OF LTTE RECRUITS.

¶14. SHAHJAHAN; MANNAR DANDY:
RADHA'S DEPUTY IS SHAHJAHAN, A LOCAL FROM MANNAR DISTRICT WHO HAS TAKEN VICTOR'S PLACE AS THE POPULAR FAVORITE AMONG LTTE SUPPORTERS IN MANNAR. HE IS REFERRED TO AS "THE INDIAN MOVIE STAR" BOTH BECAUSE OF HIS NOM DE GUERRE AND DASHING GOOD LOOKS.

¶15. SALIM; CORRUPT COMMISSAR:

SALIM, ANOTHER LEADER IN THE MANNAR LTTE STRUCTURE, HAS BEEN TASKED WITH ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS SUCH AS "TAX COLLECTION," MAGISTERIAL DUTIES, PROPAGANDA EFFORTS, ETC. ACCORDING TO ONE SOURCE, RADHA HAS COMPLAINED TO PRABHAKARAN THAT SALIM IS EMBEZZLING FUNDS AND IS GENERATING POPULAR RESENTMENT IN THE AREA AGAINST THE LTTE. IF TRUE, SALIM'S TENURE IS LIKELY TO BE SHORT-LIVED, ACCORDING TO THIS REPORT.

CONCLUSIONS

¶16. THE PRIMACY OF VELUPILLAI PRABHAKARAN IN NEARLY EVERY ASPECT OF THE LTTE'S ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITIES--BE IT APPOINTING REGIONAL COMMANDERS, DIVYING UP RANSOM MONEY, DECIDING ON THE QUANTITIES OF MUNITIONS AND SUPPLIES FOR THE VARIOUS REGIONS, ETC.--BECAME QUICKLY APPARENT AS WE LOOKED AT THE LTTE'S FUNCTIONING STRUCTURE IN SRI LANKA. IF PRABHAKARAN WERE TO LEAVE THE SCENE FOR ONE REASON OR ANOTHER, WHAT WOULD HAPPEN TO THE LTTE? KITTU IS BEST PLACED TO TAKE OVER THE ORGANIZATION, BEING THE COMMANDER OF THE MOST IMPORTANT REGION AND GENERALLY RECOGNIZED AS PRABHAKARAN'S DEPUTY. HOWEVER, IT IS NOT ENTIRELY CLEAR IF KITTU HAS THE PERSONAL AND/OR ORGANIZATIONAL AUTHORITY TO DICTATE TO THE ORGANIZATION AS PRABHAKARAN THUS FAR HAS BEEN ABLE TO. THE IRON DISCIPLINE AND EFFECTIVE COORDINATION OF THE LTTE, ONE KEY TO THE TIGERS' SUCCESSES SO FAR, WOULD PROBABLY BE WEAKENED IN A POST-PRABHAKARAN POWER STRUGGLE.

¶17. IF THE CURRENT POLITICO-MILITARY "MANAGEMENT STYLE" OF THE LTTE COMMAND STRUCTURE IS ANY INDICATION (AND WE BELIEVE IT IS), THEN IN THE UNLIKELY EVENT OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN LTTE-CONTROLLED TAMIL EELAM WE WOULD MOST LIKELY SEE AN AUTHORITARIAN, HEAVILY CENTRALIZED ADMINISTRATION. THE REGIME IS APT TO BE A MILITARY DICTATORSHIP IN THE GUISE OF A (REHETORICALLY) SOCIALIST ONE-PARTY SYSTEM, BEING NEITHER PARTICULARLY BENEVOLENT NOR IDEOLOGICAL. A MORE LIEKLY PROSPECT IS THAT PRABHAKARAN COULD BECOME THE NORTHERN PROVINCE CHIEF MINISTER UNDER SOME DEVOLUTION SCHEME. UNDER THIS SETUP HIS AUTHORITARIAN TENDENCIES WOULD PROBABLY BE ATTENUATED TO SOME DEGREE BY THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OUTLINED IN THE GSL'S PROVINCIAL COUNCIL PROPOSALS.

¶18. CLEAVAGES ALREADY VISIBLE WITHIN THE LTTE WOULD BE EXACERBATED IN THE EVENT OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TAMIL EELAM UNDER LTTE CONTROL. DOMINATION BY LOW- AND MIDDLE-CAST HINDUS FROM JAFFNA, CURRENTLY THE CORE OF LTTE POWER WOULD RANKLE MANY TAMILS, ONCE "DOMINATION" BY THE SINHALESE BUDDHISTS WERE THROWN OFF. RIFTS WOULD LIKELY APPEAR BETWEEN JAFFNA--NON-JAFFNA TAMILS, HINDUS--CHRISTIANS, BETWEEN CASTE GROUPINGS, EASTERNERS--NORTHERNERS, ETC. THE NONDEMOCRATIC INCLINATION OF PRABHAKARAN WOULD LEAVE LITTLE OR NO OUTLET FOR DISSENT BASED ON THESE CLEAVAGES. IN SHORT, AN LTTE-CONTROLLED TAMIL EELAM WOULD LIKELY BE AN UNHAPPY PLACE FOR MANY TAMILS, EVEN MANY OF THOSE SUPPORTIVE OF THE SEPARATIST MOVEMENT TODAY.

SPAIN